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These completed the unification of the two families through the marriage of a son and daughter, a process that had begun with the formalities surrounding the making of *tuia*. In fact, such alliances by marriage marked in the most thorough manner the alliance of tribes, for as a result of them all the people were made as one family or tribe. Hence, the great public importance and splendor of these rites.

Celibacy and Perverted Instincts

It is said that there were occasional celibates, both male and female. *Mahoi* or *mahu* were men who adopted the life of a woman, dressed in woman's garb, allowing their hair to grow long. They devoted themselves to all the activities and relationships of women rather than to those of men. Native informants told me that these men were not deformed physically, but that they merely preferred a woman's life and desired men. Dordillon gives the meaning of *mahoi* as sterile and of *enata mahu io te fa'e* as "a man who scarcely goes out from his house." These celibates seem to have been few in the Marquesas.

DEATH

Mourning

As death approached and for some time following it, mourning was very violent on the part of women, consisting in a wailing chant, that may be characterized as an exaggerated, slow trill on the various vowel sounds made deep in the throat. Dordillon (8, p. 62) prints this wailing chant in the following way:

"Ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke!
á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á,
é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é,
í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í,
ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó,
ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú,

This he calls *ue haaneinei* (*ue*, to weep; *haa nei nei*, make near). The vowel sound was sustained as long as the breath permitted. Sometimes between two vowels some words were inserted.

E te hakaiki e, e, e, e, ... e!..... O chief!
Aia a tani ia oe! Umoi e mate! i, i, i, i . . . . i!..... Here you are mourned! Do not die!
A pohue te hakaiki! o, o, o, o, ... o!..... May the chief recover!
E te hakaiki, e, aia te heia! u, u, u, u, ... u!..... O chief!

This wailing is done at the time of death at the present day. It is entirely a histrionic performance. A woman usually goes through it a number of times, resting, smoking, talking, and laughing in between times, and

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then returning to her expression of grief. It is merely a rite intended to convince the departed spirit of the sorrow of those left behind. The women also performed the dance called *heva*, throwing off all their clothes, leaping up and down, raising their arms in the air and fluttering their hands. The dancing appears not to have been in groups—that is to say, it was not organized—but like the wailing was done by women as they were moved to express themselves in this way. It was another conventional expression of frenzied grief for the sake of the spirit. Although these performances were histrionic, conventional, and discontinuous, expressing formal grief, it is nevertheless evident from descriptions that at these times the people worked themselves into a state of emotional frenzy. In addition to wailing and dancing, women mutilated themselves by cutting their heads and bodies with sharks' teeth, shells, and pieces of sharp stone, so that blood ran freely. This was called *mata-hikahika*. Men did not participate in these violent acts but chanted and did the work connected with preparation of the body for burial and the funeral feast. Songs chanted by women as a part of their mourning were, according to Père Pierre, almost always erotic. On Nuku Hiva the crying for the dead was sometimes called *hai vai-mata*. It is said that people came to do this only if a feast was offered.

All who came as mourners brought gifts to the dead, apparently consisting always of tapa. This custom exists today in the presentation to the body of European goods and money. Formerly these gifts were disposed of with the body, but today they are kept by the family.

Memorial Feasts

It is difficult to give a consecutive description of the successive feasts for the dead, for the reason that these were numerous and complicated in the ancient days and very little is remembered of them today. The best notes that I have regarding these come from the manuscripts of Catholic missionaries. Feasts for the dead were called inclusively *mau tupapa'u*. According to Père Jean (19) women were excluded from such feasts. It is known, however, that women participated in some feasts; this note must, therefore refer to certain of the feasts or parts of them that immediately followed death, or else it has reference to the fact that the great feasts were given only for men's spirits.

According to Père Pierre (4) there were nine feasts in honor of the dead, all the people joining in furnishing the food. They were called: *memava hakanoho, tia hahati, vaikaukau, vaimata, haoka, menavatu, iki ha'e, tahioa*, and *kahekaika*. At all these feasts many pigs were eaten

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spirit was accomplished by the sacrifice of from one to ten human victims. Accompanying this sacrifice there was a great feasting and rejoicing, for it was believed that the tribal god would give abundance of fruits.

The following description of the practices surrounding a chief's death is from the Dordillon MS.: When the chief became seriously ill, a woman diviner *(vehine tau'a)* was called in to discover the cause of the illness. While the chief was sick, his wife and children wept; when he died, everyone came to weep, cutting themselves with bamboo until the blood was spread all about, crying out, "Oh, our chief, here is your miserable child, your miserable child who stays with you. Your death brings misery to your child." All the household, including the servants *(fa'e toa)* wept a great deal. The women relatives of the chief danced outside the house where the body lay, then went inside to him, crying, "Oh, our chief, this is your *heva*." The body rested in the chief's dwelling for six months and was then taken to a sacred house *(fa'e tapu)*. Here the skin was taken off *(ua hoe te ki'i)*—a very long process. While this was being done, a burial house *(fa'e tupapa'u)* was built. When the skin was off and the flesh blackened and dried, the body wrapped in cloth, a head dress was put on the head, ornaments in the ears, and so on. Thus dressed in complete regalia, the corpse was put into a coffin, after which it was carried into its sacred house amidst shooting of guns. This house was built by the chief's servants. While building it, they had to eat there, and after finishing their work, they must bathe in the sea before eating in a common house. While the body lay in the sacred house, the wife offered food and tobacco to it, and continued to mourn and weep all the time the body lay there. The body was left in this house for a year. Then the chief's children came and closed the eyes with leaves, wrapped the bones in a piece of cloth, and hid them in some place in the mountains. Valuables were put in the bundle with the bones. It was a great insult to the remains if they were wrapped in a mat or in anything that had been worn by a woman.

According to Père Pierre's account, when a *tau'a* died the whole tribe was under a general *tapu* and warriors were immediately despatched to seek victims. All the people cooked enough pigs to last for seven days, during which time no fires could be built, no one could leave his house, and no work could be done. When the human sacrifices had been secured, the *tapu* was lifted. The body was put on the temple platform and there the sacrifices were offered in its honor. If on the seventh day a victim had not been found, men went to the temple, each carrying on his shoulders a piece of wood and a germinated coconut, which were put on the sacred place. This accomplished, the *tapu* was lifted (4).

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755 ing the shed, he picked up the food, and rushed out with it precipitately. It was thought that the viands had attracted the spirit back—the *tau'a* showed scratches on the food, which indicated that the spirit had been partaking. He then pretended to catch the spirit in a vessel, and proved his success by exhibiting a large black caterpillar in it. The vessel was then applied to the ear of the sick person and the spirit was supposed to re-enter his body.

Presages of Death

787 762 Presages of death often came in dreams of various kinds. It is said also that sometimes a spirit was heard outside the sleeping house at night, calling the name of an inmate. He whose name was called was soon to die. Where there was sickness, the cry of a particular bird—the species varied in different valleys—presaged the death of the afflicted person. It was the *koako* bird in Hatiheu (4); at Pua Ma'u it was the *koevaeva* (*Endamis tahiticnsis*).

WITCHCRAFT

754 Sorcery of the type about to be described was known as *nati* (*nani*) *kaha*. *Nati* or *nani* means to tie up, or bind, and also a sharp point, being applied for example to the bayonet used by the European soldiers. *Kaha* means spittle and also coconut fiber. *Nati kaha* was applied both to the practice and to the professionals who devoted themselves to it, the latter being called also *tuhuna nati kaha*. Such witches were both male and female. It appears that certain tribes were more addicted to the practice of this type of sorcery than others. The medium through which the spell was worked was saliva, urine, excrement, clothing, or anything else that had been intimately associated with the victim. It was called *mouuu* (a word applied also to bait used by fishermen); another term for it was *momo*.

A spell that had been worked on a person showed its effect sometimes quickly, sometimes slowly. The victim might waste away gradually or he might be afflicted with violent stomach trouble and die in a few days. One informant from Tahu Ata described the effect of *nati kaha* as being indicated by the appearance of white spots on the stomach, a symptom that was followed by violent pains in that region and death in a few days. A spell manifested itself sometimes in chills and fever. I have been told of one victim whose eyes were afflicted and of another whose hands and arms were affected.

On Hiva Oa after the "bait" or medium for transmitting the spells (a piece of clothing, or the like) had been secured, a fire was built in a hole and burnt to ashes. The ashes were then scraped away, a hole was

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The Marquesans gave the appearance of being friendly and open with whites, but were actually very much on guard. It was impossible to tell what was going on in their minds. They manifested their pleasures openly but seldom gave way to grief, although they flew into occasional fits of rage. They regarded death with the utmost composure. An old woman who lived immediately behind my house died of tuberculosis during my stay in her village. When it became apparent that she was not going to live much longer, her husband and four sons built a magnificent tomb for her. They reported each day on how it was coming along, and she was very proud and interested in the work. As she became worse, they started her coffin, building it on the front porch of the house so that she could watch the construction.

The strongest expression of emotion I ever saw was that of an eighteen-year-old boy to whom I gave a mouth organ. He had never seen one before and listened fascinated while I tooted on it. When I handed it over to him, he blew one note, then leaped into the air about four feet with a loud whoop. He did not thank me—that came later—but started off at a run, playing the instrument for all he was worth.

The average Marquesan had a horror of being laughed at, an aversion which was a powerful factor in maintaining the mores of the society, for the nonconformist was certain to be subjected to ridicule. Since the Marquesans are essentially a polite people, the handling was gentle from our point of view. They seldom ridiculed a man to his face, but he was nevertheless aware of the joking and talking that went on behind his back. If he was present at the informal assemblies of the tribe, there would be slighting allusions made to him and his foibles, the humor of which would be highly appreciated by the rest of the group. It was easier for the native to conform to the standards of the community than to be exposed to this sort of thing. This fear of ridicule was undoubtedly an important factor in the prevalence of suicide because of jilted love, which was previously discussed.